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Contents

The "Right" in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. <i>Editorial...</i>	...	57
The Split in the Polish Socialist Party. <i>B. Valetsky...</i>	...	61
Lessons of the German Lock-Out. <i>S. Gussiev ...</i>	...	67
Reformism in the U.S.A. Presidential Elections. <i>N. Nasonov</i>	...	86

The "Right" in the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern

THE recently concluded Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. summarised results of the struggle which has been taking place in the Party of recent months over the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress. The main line of discussion was on the attempts to retreat from the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress on industrialisation in the U.S.S.R., and the strengthening of the attack on the kulak. The Plenum considered the whole group of problems connected with the practical work of carrying out the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress. The control figures of national economy for 1928/29, i.e., the annual plan of socialist reconstruction, the measures indispensable to a speedier development of backward agriculture, the introduction of the seven-hour day as being at the present stage a fundamental condition of greater attraction

of the workers to the work of industrialisation of the country, and finally the enrolment of the workers and the regulation of the growth of the party; (in other words, the improvement of its personnel) so as to ensure successful speedier reconstruction of the entire economy; a task which now immediately confronts the country and the party,—all this in the aggregate represents the sum of practical measures which must be carried out in order to realise the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress at the present time.

ALL the work of the Plenum was carried on with the idea of resolute resistance to the right deviations and to any reconciliatory attitude towards them. This aspect of the Plenum's work is of especial importance

to the C.P.S.U. It was on this question that the Party impatiently awaited a decision.

In its decisions the Plenum attacks those superficial views which represent right deviation as one easily overcome, as the kind of deviation that could be liquidated by a couple of hundred resolutions and a few dozen applications of so-called "organisational measures."

These views are profoundly inaccurate, since the Party has still to carry on a long struggle with the right. The liquidation of the right will be first and foremost predetermined by the socialist reconstruction of the entire economy (including agriculture). So long as there remain millions of privately-owned, peasant commodity-producing farms, elementals of capitalism, so long as the kulaks and Nepmen consequently retain their hopes of a capitalist development of peasant economy, so long as the pressure of the petty bourgeois elements on the Party remains, so long will there be manifestations of right deviations to a more or less degree, and in one or another form, within our Party. Hence the struggle with the right cannot but be protracted.

TROTSKYISM was an anti-middle-peasant deviation. It denied the Leninist idea of the union of proletarian and peasant. Consequently Trotskyism was and remains a "town" deviation. It rests and will continue to rest on the fragments of the old classes (the "suburban" and the bourgeois intelligentsia) and on the declassed elements (students and others declassed in the process of the revolution). Trotskyism, with its idea of the return to war-communism, with its view of the peasantry as a colony of the socialist State to be ruthlessly exploited for the purposes of socialist construction, cannot receive support from among the great masses of the peasantry.

THE right deviation is preponderantly a "village" deviation. It does not reject the Leninist idea of the union of proletariat and peasantry, but objectively it leads to the directing role in that union being conceded to the peasantry, thus retreating from Lenin's basic condition of the directing role of the proletariat in that union.

Even in 1920, side by side with the "Workers' Opposition" of that time (Shliapnikov) we had developed a "peasant" opposition also (finding expression in a primitive peasant form in the Red Army). This peasant opposition put forward the proposition that the "peasantry is the elder brother, and the proletariat the younger." After several years of N.E.P. the peasant idea found its expression in a milder form in the denial of the necessity of industrialising the U.S.S.R. in the immediate future, and in the teaching that it is necessary to agrarianise it during this stage. But in such a form the deviation was far too primitively expressed, and at the present time it is masked behind the teaching that we ought not to set too swift a tempo of industrialisation, that we ought not to restrict the freedom to develop of the kulak farms, since the kulak is still of service to us,—we still need the kulak's grain,—and that finally we ought not to be in a hurry with our collective farms and Soviet farms. Thus the idea of co-operation of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie for the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is thrust forward: an idea which has nothing whatever in common with Leninism. That is the basic idea of the right deviation in its "Russian" form, an idea which naturally does not make its appearance in such a nakedly cynical form.

THE second peculiarity of the "Russian" form of the right deviation consists in its still not being formulated even ideologically, not to mention any organisational formulation. It is still passing through the elementary phase of its development.

None the less the sources of this deviation are incomparably more profound, as we have seen, than the sources of Trotskyism. It has its roots deeply thrust into the enormous mass of 25,000,000 privately-owned peasant farms (of which only 400,000 approximately were united into collective farms last year). Its tendencies are individualist peasant tendencies, the tendencies of a peasantry not yet drawn into co-operation, of a peasantry still drawn towards capitalism; and consequently they are kulak economic tendencies.

THE concrete forms of manifestation of the right are extremely varied. They appear in various sections of the Party, Soviet and trade union work. Naturally the enormous petty bourgeois masses exert pressure on all phases of Party life. The deviation also appears in the grain collection campaigns, when the lower Party and Soviet workers put obstacles in the way of the sound development of that work on behalf of the interests of the kulaks and the prosperous sections of the middle peasants; it is revealed also in an unjust distribution of the agricultural tax (a lowering of the tax on the kulaks to the injury of the middle peasants), and in an unjust distribution of agricultural machinery (their supply to the kulaks), and in purely social manifestations (Communists fraternising with the kulaks and Nepmen), in the kulak elements' penetration into the village Party organisations and so on. It is impossible to specify all the varied manifestations of the right in the Party life of the C.P.S.U.

THE right deviation has not yet been crystallised into any system of opinions, but separate elements of that system are scattered everywhere. In consequence of this a ruthless ideological struggle with the deviation, despite the fact that it is still ideologically unformulated, is urgently necessary even now. The Plenum emphasised the absolute necessity of such a struggle in the most resolute fashion, and thus also emphasised the absolute necessity of struggle against any patient or reconciliatory attitude.

IN other Communist Parties there is a different situation from that in the C.P.S.U. This has to be given particularly definite emphasis, since the purely mechanical application to other parties of the decisions taken by the last Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. might result in a complete distortion of the practical tasks confronting those Parties in the struggle against the right.

In the first place it must not be forgotten that in distinction from the C.P.S.U. other C.P.s are still confronted with the task of accomplishing a socialist revolution. And as we know very well from the experience of the Russian party, that task demands the maxi-

mum of unity and agreement from those parties. During ten years the Bolsheviks carried out a persistent cleansing of their ranks to ensure this. Without all this preliminary work, which was expressed in a protracted and persistent struggle against all deviations, the C.P.S.U. could not have prepared itself for the accomplishment of the October revolution.

The history of all the other Communist Parties which have developed since the October revolution and emerged from the womb of the social-democratic parties, shows that during these years those parties have also cleansed themselves by way of an internal party struggle more and more from the social-democratic human ballast (Levy, Frossard, Bubnik and company) which they had brought out with them. Now these parties are more homogeneous than they were ten years ago. But the process is far from being completed.

BUT meantime the intensification of the class contradictions and the class struggle and the swift approach of the war danger demand of these parties a swifter cleansing from social-democratic elements.

The sources of the deviations in the C.P.S.U. are also different. While in the C.P.S.U. the right deviation is still passing through only its elementary phase, in other Communist Parties the deviation has already been formulated not only ideologically but in places organisationally also. This essential difference must not be forgotten, for it shows that the purely mechanical application of the decisions of the last Plenum of the C.P.S.U. to other parties may lead to a number of serious errors.

But the common feature of the "Russian" and the International right deviation is the tendency towards co-operation with the bourgeoisie (in the capitalist countries in the form of co-operation with the reformists). This tendency arises out of the fear of struggle in circumstances of an intensification of the contradictions existent both in the U.S.S.R. and in the capitalist countries. Naturally this tendency takes on different forms in the U.S.S.R. and in the other countries, since in the U.S.S.R. the construction of socialism is already proceeding, while the other countries

are still only confronted with the social revolution. But despite this enormous difference it is this basic tendency towards co-operation with the bourgeoisie which unites the right on the international scale. And this also must in no circumstances be forgotten.

THE task of cleaning out the right elements assumes a particular importance in regard to the directing party organ. The approaching gigantic class and war conflicts demand the transformation of these directing organs into revolutionary staffs, not in any figurative, but in the actual meaning of the words. And in the staff there must be no doubters, no waverers, no unstable elements ready to retreat at the first failure; in a staff there must be no panic-mongers.

We do not in the least intend to imply that there must be no ideological struggle. That would be absolutely unsound. The ideological struggle is indeed needed. We only desire to emphasise the profound difference which exists on the question of attitude to the right danger between the U.S.S.R. and other C.P.'s. The basic task of the C.P.S.U. at the present stage is the waging of a ruthless ideological struggle against the right and so-called "organisational measures" can play only a secondary role. But in other C.P.'s the basic task is a cleansing of the right elements, which will not in the least eliminate, but will on the contrary, demand of the party an intensified ideological struggle against the right deviation.

A number of incidents which have occurred in the C.P.'s of recent times have provided extremely clear confirmation of this. As an example we need only to consider what has been happening and is still happen-

ing inside the German C.P. The right-wing attempts in connection with the Wittdorf affair to overthrow the existing Party leadership and to capture the power for themselves, their organisation inside the Party of fractions which publish their own fractional newspapers and refuse to subject themselves to the decisions of the C.C., which violently attack the decisions of the Fourth R.I.L.U. Congress and the Sixth Comintern Congress, which sabotage the struggle in the Ruhr, and are openly preparing a schism within the Party, provide a pattern of what awaits our Party in the event of revolutionary or war complications (which are incomparably more difficult than the complications caused in the Party by the Wittdorf affair) if the rights retain the organisational possibility of sabotaging the revolutionary work of the C.P.'s and exploit internal Party difficulties to this end.

AT the moment we are not discussing the question of the forms of reaction to the activities of the rights in the German and other C.P.'s. This is another subject: that of the methods necessary to cleanse the C.P.'s of the rights. The question which interests us at the moment is the estimate of the present experience of the struggle with the rights is that without a resolute cleansing of the C.P.'s of the rights, and in particular of the leading Party organs, from the rights, our Parties will not be able completely to fulfil their revolutionary obligations.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from this survey of the experience of struggle with the rights is that without a resolute cleansing of the C.P.'s of the capitalist countries, and in particular of the leading Party organs, from the rights, our Parties will not be able completely to fulfil their revolutionary obligations.

The Split in the Polish Socialist Party

By B. Valetsky

THE split in the Polish Socialist Party which occurred in October, at the height of the general strike in Lodz, and which found expression at the beginning of November in the simultaneous meeting of two party congresses, is of great international interest owing to a number of reasons. In the international family the P.S.P. occupied a prominent place, especially of recent years. It was not for nothing that its official congress was personally greeted with particular solemnity by the general secretary of the Second International, Fritz Adler himself. The P.S.P. incarnates in a stronger form all the features of the social-democratic parties in other countries. The P.S.P. has been the centre of attraction for the menshevik parties of all the border countries, from the Finnish, Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian to the Ukrainian, Roumanian and Georgian parties. The importance of the P.S.P. in the Second International is determined by the political role of Poland itself in the family of capitalist and imperialist countries, by its role of outpost in the crusade against the Soviet Union now being prepared. Finally, from the Polish example (after the example of the Italians and Spaniards), one can study the mechanism of inter-relationships between the Fascist dictatorship and the social-democracy with exceptional exactitude.

For the split in the P.S.P. was accompanied by the music composed by Pilsudsky's staff.

FASCIST POLICY

One of the features of Polish Fascism, as of Fascism generally—one which arises out of the fact that Fascism is the regime of the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, is the tendency towards the complete elimination of all the pre-existing political parties. From the very moment of the armed capture of power in May, 1926, Pilsudsky has unswervingly made for the realisation of this end, striving on the one hand to group the social following of the old parties around himself,

and on the other to discredit, to disgrace the professional politicians at their head and also their assembly, the Sejm.

Being essentially the servant of the great bourgeoisie and the landowners, putting the tried and tested cadres of his own military organisation, and also his international "connections" who had helped him to power at their disposal, Pilsudsky literally the day after the May coup d'état, ensured himself the firm support of the great bourgeois and landowning economic alliance which had deserted their traditional party, the National Democracy.

His relationship with the P.S.P. proved to be more original and more complex, for having unconditionally attached itself to the May coup d'état, having begun the task together with Pilsudsky, there was nothing the P.S.P. desired more passionately than to support him through thick and thin. Its deputies voted in the Sejm for dictatorial plenipotentiary powers to the Government, its press and its agitators continued to extol the glory and prestige of Pilsudsky, and to struggle with his enemies "on the right." But they thought of the new Government as being an original kind of "coalition," in which they, as the "representatives" of the workers and "recognised" as such by the Government, were called to play second fiddle. They counted on being allowed to operate on the basis of the ostensibly independent trade union and party organisations, on the masses of "their" electors; they wished to be paid with the political coinage due to monopolist middle-men between the Government and the masses. But while availing himself of their services, Pilsudsky answered their bootlicking, their proposals, pretensions and ambitions with kicks and scoffings. True he selected from their ranks certain persons slavishly devoted to him (such as Morachevsky, Goluvko and others), and took them into his Government, but he did not confer even the privilege of conversations on the official leaders of the party. He knew that it would be forced to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and him-

self without any reward, and would betray the working class unwearyingly. He knew that all their threats of opposition were not worth a brass farthing. He knew them through and through as did no one else in the world—for he himself had for decades been their leader and teacher! Moreover, he knew that besides the petty ambitious members, who desired to sell themselves in decent, "democratic" ways, he could count on an adequate number of persons inside the P.S.P. who were heart and soul devoted to him and his Fascist work, persons with "names," with "services," with "authority," persons who, like himself, were evolving towards Fascism as the sole saving regime for such a Poland. And so he spat on them.

For more than two years did this game played by the Fascist dictator with the compromising leaders continue. For more than two years has Fascism carried on a war of extermination with the revolutionary proletarian organisations and with the Communist Party, at the same time laying down its own road to the masses; and while exploiting all the services of the compromisers, has systematically and unswervingly disintegrated their party.

The open split within the P.S.P. which occurred in October connotes Fascism's attempt directly, ideologically and organisationally to capture part of the working masses, to include them in the system of a single Fascist organisation. On the one hand, there were the pure "Pilsudskyites" of the Warsaw organisation who had revolted against the opportunist leaders being joined by the Upper Silesian organisation which had split away at the beginning of the year, and on the other was the official party playing at "opposition."

The Fascist dictatorship, the task of which is to carry out capitalist stabilisation in Poland, and at the same time to develop Poland's military power for imperialist purposes, is coming up against increasing difficulties which threaten the very existence of the regime. The intensification of the class contradictions which have been evoked by both the economic and the political measures of Fascism has reached an unprecedented point, and the indignation of the great masses of the towns and the villages is bursting through to the surface ever more frequently and violently.

The economic policy of Fascism, which is subservient to the naked interests of the landowners and great capital, leads to an intensification of the process of differentiation in the villages, destroying the prestige with which not so long ago the name of Pilsudsky was surrounded among the masses of poor peasantry; the attempts to attract the national minorities to the side of the bourgeoisie are being accompanied by an intensified oppression and exploitation of the poverty-stricken masses of the oppressed nationalities. But the revolt and the will to struggle are revealed most clearly of all among the masses in the towns: in the working class, against whom the murderous "rationalisation" is directed. The unbroken growth of Communist influence among the masses, which over the last two years has been perceptible even from month to month, despite the measures for their extermination; the growing will to battle of the masses, which is revealed in such great demonstrations as the last Lodz strike, have directly confronted the dictatorship with the problem of finding new methods of breaking the militant force of the proletariat. As an instrument against Communism, as an instrument for the perversion of the masses, the old P.S.P. has proved to be bankrupt. Thus the question of a split in the P.S.P. has come to maturity, and the issue has arisen of separating from it elements whose function would be to carry through a direct Fascist policy among the masses.

OBJECTS OF THE SPLIT

In connection with the general aims pursued by the Fascist stage managers of the split who are members of Pilsudsky's staff (aims arising out of the very essence of the Fascist system), the split is serving a special aim connected with the war now being prepared. All that has taken place during the last few years in Poland's internal policy—not to speak of its external policy—beginning with the creation of the Fascist dictatorship with the active participation of the British Ambassador—the economic policy, the policy in regard to the national minorities, the militarisation of the leading civil positions—everything is being built up with the forthcoming war in prospect. The unreliability of the wor-

kers and the poorer peasant masses, and also of the masses of oppressed nationalities, from the aspect of military activities against the Soviet Union, sets up an obstacle which has to be eliminated during the period of mobilisation. The preparation of lists of persons unreliable from this aspect, of lists embracing upwards of one hundred thousand families of citizens subject to arrest and internment at the moment of mobilisation, is albeit a necessary yet an inadequate measure.

The military dictatorship (and such the Fascist dictatorship must be in modern Poland, operating as it is in a *milieu* which by its social character is profoundly unreliable) must base itself on elements unconditionally faithful and subject to no vacillation whatever. While in peace-time Fascism could enjoy the services of such lackeys as are the majority of the leaders of the P.S.P., while in peace-time, during the period of preparation of the war they ideologically provide a by no means poor support for that preparation (we shall have something more definite to say about this role of the official leaders of the P.S.P. a little later on), in wartime, pregnant as it is with dangers and surprises, it is not expedient to base oneself entirely on the fidelity of these opportunists and politicians. This consideration was frankly expressed as one of the decisive motives for the preparation of the split in the P.S.P. some weeks before the split occurred, in the much-bruited interview with Minister Morachevsky. "Despite all, it must not be forgotten," stated Morachevsky, who is now at the head of the splitting section of the P.S.P., "that it was in the tragic moment of the Bolshevik advance on Poland that treachery draped in the ideology of Marxism began to appear in the ranks of the P.S.P. Suppressed by the party authorities, it still remained a demonstration of the fact that the consolidation of the State elements, insistent on the unconditional independence of the State, inside the Polish socialist movement, is a work of prime importance."

A DEFENCE AGAINST COMMUNISM

This note of distrust in the official leaders of the P.S.P. at the moment of war is systematically repeated in the agitation of the dissi-

dent section of the party after the split. In the daily newspaper of the dissident section, "Przedswit" (Dawn) for October 24th, in the report of the party meeting at Prushkov, close to Warsaw, one finds the following "disclosure": "During the Bolshevik advance on Warsaw a secret meeting at No. 13, Holy Cross Street, was participated in by a now prominent member of the C.C. of the P.S.P. and the Central Trade Union Commission, who defended the opinion that it was necessary to come to an agreement with the Communists for all was lost and defence was useless."

It is obvious that confronted with such "terrible" accusations and suspicions the official leaders of the P.S.P. (and particularly those who feel themselves attacked) will jump out of their skins in the endeavour to prove their 100 per cent. reliability from the point of view of military activities against the U.S.S.R. At the Congress in Sosnovicz, at which the representative of the "brotherly" Czecho-Slovakian social-democracy, Prokes greeted the P.S.P. as the "defensive rampart against the expansion of the turbulent neighbours on the East," literally every speaker, no matter on what they were reporting, invariably stated one and the same thing: "We are the outpost farthest to the East"; "after the destruction of the rampart which the P.S.P. constitutes against the Communists, Poland in the future will not find an adequate force for opposition to the Bolsheviks"; (deputy Barlitzky) our chief task is "the consolidation of Poland's independence"; (Niedzalkovsky) the chief thing is "Poland's geographical situation"; (Marek) "our party will not see this State face to face with the Communists without defence, without the the P.S.P. will be the defence of Poland against the Communists, even by force." (Puzhak in his organisation report.)

In a special resolution against Communism, which was drawn up with exceptionally idiotic illiteracy even for these people, the Congress of the official P.S.P., after repeating in its own words Otto Bauer's Brussels thesis to the effect that "Bolshevia" has compelled the Comintern to pin all their "hopes" to a war, adds on its own behalf: "The Congress directs the attention of the comrades working in the eastern borders of the Polish republic to the

necessity of emphasising the complete bankruptcy of the Soviet national policy."

Pilsudsky knew very well that in order to compel these persons to intensify their ardour for reviling the Soviet Union it would be sufficient to express some doubt of them in that connection. But none the less, when the business grows serious he will prefer to have people on whom he can count implicitly in the responsible positions.

THE DISSIDENTS

The dissident section of the P.S.P. has adopted the name of the "Old Revolutionary Fraction," i.e., the title adopted by Pilsudsky's fraction in 1906 after the first split in the P.S.P. Its basic nucleus is the Warsaw organisation, directed by the notorious Yavorovsky, the president of the city Duma, which organisation has at its disposition a military organisation consisting of the dregs of the Warsaw *lumpen-proletariat* crimson with the blood of innumerable revolutionary workers. They have been joined by the Upper Silesian organisation, which was expelled from the P.S.P. in January this year, and is led by the dirty-handed Binnishkevitch. The ideological leader of the "fraction" is Minister Morachevsky, who in 1917-19 was the "Polish Kerensky." At the Congress in Kattovitz (Upper Silesia), which met simultaneously with the official Congress held in the adjacent Dombrova area, in Sosnovicz, there were present a hundred or more "delegates" hastily gathered from all parts of Poland. One need not discuss the mental level of this Congress. The thing that was noticeable about this Congress was its worker composition and the large number of active members of the trade union movement. In general, in accordance with the instructions issued from above, i.e., from Pilsudsky, not to look back at the government but to work among the masses (an instruction strengthened by imposing monetary subsidies), the "fraction" placed the trade unions at the centre of its work. The immediate cause of the split had been the formation in Warsaw of a trade union council which had revolted against the Central Commission directed by the official P.S.P. In carrying through this split in the trade unions Yavorovsky is striv-

ing to achieve their complete Fascisation, their fusion with the Fascist "federations" already set up. Having thus created a counter-revolutionary Central Commission, Yavorovsky is carrying on a very skilful demagogic baiting of the old commission, accusing it of bureaucracy, ossification, deliberate neglect to enrol new members and so on; in a word, of all the faults which the Communists have always accused it of having. Simultaneously an agitation is being carried on among the masses in favour of the necessity of a strike. The "Przedswit" newspaper is flooded with correspondence from the works, factories and so on. In the political sphere, while denying its dependence on the Fascist government, the fraction rejects the "anti-State," systematic "opposition" of the official P.S.P., and preaches "a businesslike attitude" to the government, extolling its economic achievements and its benevolent attitude towards the workers, expressing a desire to eliminate the "rights" from membership of the government, and first and foremost it preaches the Pilsudsky cult.

THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS

The keynote of the Congress of the official P.S.P. was one of defence, despite their noisy comminations of the splitters. We have already shown how all the speakers vied with one another in attempting to demonstrate that their "patriotism" stood above all suspicion. While reaffirming their parliamentary "opposition," pointing out that Pilsudsky was more and more coming under the "influence" of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, and shouting about the "defence of democracy," the leaders of the official P.S.P. none the less emphasised that they had no thought of denying the "achievements" of the Pilsudsky government, and that they were even ready to co-operate with it if it changed its course. Recognising the growth of the Communist Party's influence and throwing responsibility for this growth on the "schismatics" (at their Congress the "schismatics" had also recognised the indubitable, unbroken successes of the Communists, and had accused the official leadership of conducting to those successes by their "fruitless opposition"), the P.S.P. Congress put forward

as its chief task the struggle with Communism, and adduced the menacing Communist danger as the chief argument in favour of unity.

Despite their demonstrative optimism, the presence of representatives of the Second International at the Congress, as well as those of a number of "fraternal" parties, and also the participation of representatives of the "Bund" and the German social-democracy in Poland, the Congress of a party which had been given more than one and a half million votes in the elections to the Sejm was filled with alarm for its future.

Not only because the stage-managers of the Congress and the leaders of the party were tired of their insincere, simulated "opposition," not only because they are aching for the master whom they are in any case compelled to serve to change his anger into kindness, not only because they do not want a struggle, are afraid of a struggle, do not believe in struggle, are not capable of struggling, not only because the breach effected in their ranks by the split is greater than they care to admit, but also because trusted henchmen of Pilsudsky, no less dangerous for them than the departed Yavorovsky and Morachevsky, have remained within their ranks for "tactical" consideration. In addition to the head of Lodz town, the former minister Zemensky, who openly spoke at the Congress against the official leadership, besides Bobrovsky, the leader of the Crakow organisation, who refused to become a member of the Central Committee, besides the deputy Prauss, who after a dramatic speech resigned his deputy's mandate, the president of the Sejm, Daszinsky, has to be added to the opponents of the C.C. and the whole-hearted worshippers of Pilsudsky. And it is no secret to anyone that any of the prominent "opposition" leaders will betray his colleagues on the C.C. whenever Pilsudsky or his agents think fit to draw the reins tight on him. In addition to all this, in the lower ranks of the party there are workers who take all the opposition phrases seriously, who sincerely hate Pilsudsky, the Pilsudskyites, Fascism, the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and whose revolt may become more dangerous than that of Yavorovsky.

* * * *

The split in the P.S.P., which was directly evoked by the manoeuvring of the Fascist dictatorship and their agents of the first and second line among the working class of Poland, confronts the Polish Communist Party with new difficult tasks. It is true that in two of the great centres of Poland, in the Dombrova basin and in Warsaw, the Polish C.P. proved to be stronger in the elections to the Sejm this year than the P.S.P., while in Lodz they are almost as strong. It is true that the Lodz events have shown the growth of influence of the C.P. and strengthened that growth in its turn. But the same elections demonstrated that Fascism, unmasked by socialist phrases, had also penetrated into the workers' districts, and particularly in Warsaw.

The split in the P.S.P., which, if considered mechanically, would be bound to have the effect of weakening this our traditional enemy in the working class, is in reality establishing a position which demands a great concentration of attention and activity from the Polish party.

Both sections of the split P.S.P. are already, by sheer force of necessity arising out of their rivalry, developing a more intensive and wider demagogic activity among the workers.

Basing itself on oppositional phrases, and adopting a "left" mask, defending the "unity of the trade union movement" against the splitters, the official P.S.P. represents a danger no less but even more than before the split. While in reality serving Fascism and "struggling" with it in words, it is the chief impediment to the consolidation of the masses (who subjectively are opposed to Fascism) around the Communist Party and under its leadership.

The Fascist "revolutionary fraction," directed by demagogues with practically unlimited resources at its disposition, which will exploit its decision in favour of quite "radical" agitation among the workers for a time, even to the extent of organising strikes, the success of which are guaranteed in advance by the government (a form of Zubatov provocation which Mussolini also resorted to earlier), yet working directly for Fascism, will find favourable ground for their activities among the backward, indigent and starving sections of the workers.

Both these fractions will compete with each other in the slandering of Communists, in the slandering of the U.S.S.R. and in the ideological preparation of war.

The split in the P.S.P. is the indirect result of the growth of Communist influence among the working class of Poland, and the direct manifestation of the manœuvres of Fascism; and it demands of the Polish C.P. a still greater intensification of its work among the

masses both in the political and in the trade union sphere.

The growth of the Communist Party's influence, with its propaganda of the revolutionary overthrow of the Fascist dictatorship, and also the growth in the movement and the fighting spirit of the masses following it, are a guarantee that the Party will know how to exploit this regrouping of the agents of Fascism among the working class in order to carry on a further successful struggle against them.

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Lessons of the German Lock-Out

By S. Gussiev

AT the time of writing the struggle of the 220,000 Ruhr workers who have been locked out by the masters of the iron and steel works has lasted three weeks.

During this period the intentions of both sides have been very clearly revealed, and the prospects for the further development of the struggle have also been indicated.

The capitalists' programme is short and clear: not a pfennig on the pay, not a minute off the day before 1930; no compromises, no negotiations, but a lock-out, peace through struggle, class against class.

This is the programme of a resolute attacking movement against the proletariat.

The workers' demands are not quite so unified: some of them support the demand for an increase of fifteen pfennigs per hour and the shortening of the working day; another, less resolute, section bite their lips and agree to two pfennigs additional (for only a section of the workers). But both sections stand resolutely opposed to the capitalists.

ORIGIN OF THE STRUGGLE

The conflict in the Ruhr arose in connection with the reconsideration of the wages agreements, and it is this circumstance which gives it a special importance. By July 1st, 1929, 93 per cent. of the wage agreements, involving 5,500,000 workers, will expire. In particular, by March 31st wage agreements involving 1,850,000 workers will have expired. The real wages of all these millions of workers have fallen greatly with the rise in cost of living, and the conditions of labour have greatly worsened with the rationalisation of industry. All the workers are resolutely putting forward a demand for a rise in wages in the new agreements with the capitalists, and some are putting forward the demand for an eight-hour day also.

The Ruhr conflict is thus a prototype of a number of gigantic conflicts, in which the German workers will ere long be involved.

The programme of the iron and steel barons is the programme of the entire capitalist class. The Ruhr capitalists are the leading division of German heavy industry, which will be followed by all the other German industries. The Ruhr capitalists own foundries, rolling mills and machinery works not only in the Ruhr area but in Middle and Northern Germany also, and in Upper Silesia. They are closely connected with the great banks, and have enormous financial resources at their disposal. The entire press belonging to the enormous Hugenberg concern, and also the entire press of the national party is at the disposal of the Ruhr steel and iron lords. All the rest of the bourgeois press unquestioningly supports them against the Ruhr workers. On the side of the Ruhr masters are their brothers in exploitation of the chemical, textile, metal working, and woodworking industries. They feel themselves to be the conscious representatives of the entire class of capitalists and in the Ruhr conflict to be defending the general class interests of the capitalists. On the other hand, the entire class of capitalists is consciously supporting Ruhr giants of heavy industry, as being the representatives of their interests in the struggle against the entire working class.

THE CAPITALIST POSITION

The slogans — no concessions, through struggle to peace, no negotiations, but a lock-out—are the slogans of the entire capitalist class, which is acting as a single, consolidated, organised force.

The organ of the German bourgeoisie, "Berliner Börsenzeitung," is openly appealing to all the German capitalists. On all the German entrepreneurs now lies the obligation to stand in closed ranks behind the Rhenish-Westphalian metal industry, which has taken on itself the responsibility of advancing to the front line of the battle in which the question whether there shall be a German industry or not is to be decided.

In opposition to this force stands the working class, of which only the leading section sees the entire prospect of the approaching class battles and is ready to enter into a decisive struggle with the capitalists, while the other sections are following the bourgeois political parties and the social-democracy, which openly defend the capitalist system.

In opposition to the organised class of capitalists stands the working class, not consolidated into a homogeneous force, still ununited by one and the same desires, but swiftly consolidating and organising its forces in the actual struggle, rallying around the demands of the whole class, beginning to realise the trickery of the bourgeoisie and the treachery of the social-democrats and to see the fundamental conditions of its victory in this struggle.

Class against class—such is the position, if not for today, then for tomorrow. The class of capitalists, avidly grabbing at its enormous profits, and the class of workers insisting on the maintenance of their miserable wages. Class against class—not as an historical abstraction, but as concrete history. Class against class—such is the revolutionary prospect of the next six months in Germany. Class against class—such is the simple formula which is supplanting all the other formulæ of social contradictions.

§ THE BOURGEOISIE

We shall let the representatives of the capitalists have the first word. We shall listen to their view of the prospects, how they view the course, the tasks, and the result of the struggle now begun.

First for Prof. Dr. Max Wolff. He writes in the "Deutsche Bergwerkzeitung," (German Mining Gazette), the organ of the Ruhr lockout lords. Thus Professor Max Wolff has to stand in the advance-post. He knows exactly what his masters expect of him, he is to be trusted. "Through struggle to peace,"—so the professor headed his article. After expressing his regret that the struggle in the Rhenish-Westphalian iron works had taken on an "acute" form from the very beginning, (which for that matter was not unexpected, the professor adds) the learned lackey of the capitalists at once proceeds to business. "The

trade unionists," says he, "have put forward demands. Their leaders know very well that they are impossible of execution at the present time." (It is not certain whether the professor is hinting at some special means of informing the trade union leaders in regard to the state of the capitalists' profits). "They also know very well that they can be given a mathematical proof of the fact that the iron and steel industry cannot stand the least increase of wages." Preserving a modest silence concerning the dozens of million marks profit which this poor industry has brought capitalism during the past year, the professor despondently asks: "But is that of any help?"

PLAIN TALK BY A PROFESSOR

The cause of the professor's despondency is made clear in the next few lines. "Behind them" (i.e., the trade union leaders), he proceeds, "stand the Communists, and the trade union leaders are forced to offer their adherents something, otherwise they would move in masses to the left. There is no free way of retreat left to the leaders. Any concession would be interpreted as a betrayal of the workers, and no matter how strong the position of the trade unions, they are still not strong enough to withstand such a reproach from the Communists."

Rarely do the underlings of capital talk in such language. The situation must needs be really serious for the German professor openly (and that several days before the beginning of the lockout) to recognise so strong an influence of the Communists on the workers and such instability in the influence of trade unions. For us this is a very valuable admission. This is a testing of our own views by the class enemy. We are grateful to the worthy professor for these words and we shall remember them. They will be of much service to us in the future.

These words are valuable to us also because they raise the curtain from all the cunning mechanism of the lockout. The professor recognises the hopeless position of the trade union leaders, he shares their grief that owing to the Communists the pleasant possibility of their betraying the working class has been greatly restricted. Moreover, the professor kindly allows them, in view of the special cir-

cumstances, to betray his majesty capital this time, and allows them to insist upon the "mathematically" unrealisable demands of the workers.

THE PROFESSOR IS CAUTIOUS

But to return to our professor. He will tell us much more of interest.

Having outlined the position of one side (one class) he turns to consider the other side. "On the other side stand the masters," he writes. But before he says anything about them, the professor has to take a breath, for here it is necessary to express himself cautiously; now he is not dealing with some trade union leader or group of workers. And so the professor introduces his decisive words with the following clever phrase: "We shall apportion the light and the shade equally" (in other words "we" shall be impartial). And then, taking his courage in both hands, he adds hurriedly: "They also are struggling for their own advantage."

What tripe! It now appears that the Ruhr masters are struggling for their own benefit. Did you ever hear of such a thing! And just imagine,—this scandalous story is revealed by Professor Dr. Max Wolff, who is attached to them under special commission, who is their trusted confidant. And yet that is not all. Now what is to happen to the mathematical proofs of the impossibility of raising the workers' wages? For it appears that the capitalists do get some benefit, so that means that they might be able to make some concessions. Or is the laying of hands on the capitalists' benefits in contradiction not only to the laws of capitalist society but also to the laws of nature, to the laws of mathematics?

We need expect no answer from the professor to this question. It is good anyway to know that he recognises the fact of the existence of two sides, that he speaks of two classes, that he understands how hard that struggle will be for the capitalists.

However, as a true bourgeois professor, he cannot of course refrain from representing the struggle of the Ruhr masters for their own advantage as a struggle for the benefit of the whole nation, and the satisfaction of the workers' demands as a "national catastrophe."

"We want peace, we have need of peace," the professor exclaims, "But this peace is continually being disturbed by the growing demands for a rise in wages. The entrepreneur cannot work any more [Think only, how terrible!—C.G.] and most of all he is unable to conclude agreements abroad because he does not know what expenses he will have to face tomorrow." And reduced to utter confusion, the mathematics-loving professor bitterly exclaims: "Anyone knows that wages can numerically go on being raised indefinitely."

All these miserable words about the heavy fate of the capitalist are necessary to the professor only in order to prepare for the following declaration:

"What we need is peace to work, and that peace must be won from the workers by the masters. The issue in the present struggle is whether we shall succeed in getting stable relationships."

Translated from the professorial tongue into human speech, this means: "Will the capitalists succeed in strangling the workers so far as to ensure that in the future they will not dare even to murmur one word about a rise in wages?"

"This struggle must be maintained to its end," the professor continues, "and it must not be debased by compromise."

His further remarks are either a redigestion of what he has already said or else attempts to smother the clear slogans of no compromise and "through struggle to peace" with unnecessary declarations that the capitalists are waging the struggle not "for the sake of victory," but "for the sake of peace." "It is miserable," writes the professor, "to see citizens of the nation standing facing one another as enemies, but it is still more miserable when they face each other as victors and vanquished. The aim of the present struggle is the reconciliation of workers and masters."

Without concessions from the capitalists such a reconciliation can mean nothing else than the workers' complete surrender to the will of the victor.

The formula of "class against class," which appeared to be so classically clear, and which the professor recognised almost word for word in the first half of his article, now does not appear to be so clear: side by side with it in the second half of the article is comfortably

disposed the directly contrary formula: peace between the classes, peace between the workers and the masters.

What will a bourgeois professor not include when it is necessary to defend the interests of the capitalists!

He is capable of concealing the imperialist tendencies of consolidated German capital without leaving a trace, he is capable of hiding a complete battle-cruiser together with all the revived militarism of the German capitalists.

Not one little word does Professor Max Wolff utter even on matters of which other bourgeois professors speak boldly: the workers want a rise in wages, that would lead to a rise in the price of our manufactures, and consequently would decrease our competitive ability on the foreign markets.

He is also silent in regard to the fact that the construction of a war fleet now being planned by the German capitalists is pursuing the same aim as is the lockout: i.e., the seizure and conquest of foreign markets. He pretends not to see that the Ruhr lockout lords are building a cruiser with one hand, and with the other are throwing their workers on to the street, carrying out the same plan in each case. He doesn't notice that there is the closest of economic and political connection between the cruiser and the lockout.

Our professor wrote before the social-democratic Minister of Labour proclaimed the decision of the arbitration court granting a rise of two pfennings to a section of the workers to be obligatory. Consequently we cannot demand of the professor that he should explain how an addition of two pfennings is going to lead to a mathematical endless rise in wages. This grateful task was taken on by the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," which on the day of the beginning of the lockout wrote: "The economically weak masses of the German population will recall with terror the disastrous screwing up of prices and wages, ever increasing in the speed of their tempo, which occurred a few years ago: the rise in wages was followed by a rise in prices, which then had their reaction on other spheres of industry, evoking a rise in wages there also, and so on right down to the catastrophe in our economy and our currency."

ARBITRATION NOT WANTED

Confronted with such a catastrophe the Ruhr saviours of the German nation can do nothing else than resolutely reject the two-pfennig rise, (which would cost them seven million marks annually) giving the following reasons: "It is time to put an end to the present wages policy, thanks to which every renewal of a wages agreement connotes a rise in wages: it is necessary to put an end to the system of arbitration courts, which again and again concede a rise in wages."

Putting it briefly, the arbitration system, now that with its aid they have consolidated their position, is no longer necessary to them, it has become a hindrance to them. And they have thrown it on to the rubbish heap of history. And by this action the leaders of the trade unions and the entire social-democracy, for whom the theory and practice of the political and economic coalition was a beloved child, have been placed in new and more difficult conditions.

While Professor Max Wolff permitted the trade union leaders to support (albeit not very resolutely) the workers' demands before the beginning of the lockout, after the capitalists' refusal to carry out the compulsory decision of the arbitration court these leaders are not left with even that saving mouse-hole. They cannot support even the two-pfennig rise. In order to justify it economically they would have to mobilise arguments which would go much farther than their aim and would reveal that it was necessary to give a rise of fifteen pfennigs and to reduce the workers' day to eight hours. Consequently the trade union leaders are forced to renounce economic arguments, and they are compelled to clutch at juridical arguments. They have a strong dislike to political arguments.

The intensification of the class-struggle is administering a conclusive blow to the idea of economic coalition, industrial peace, industrial democracy, and arbitration. Both the warring parties, both workers and capitalists, reject arbitration.

The formula: "class against class," squeezes out the formula: "third party arbitration and compulsory arbitration." But on the other hand the formula: "compulsory

arbitration" squeezes out the formula: "class against class."

We shall see immediately to what a monstrous perversion the clash of these two contradictory formulas leads.

§ THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

We shall now hear what the social-democrats have to say.

The resolute refusal of the Ruhr capitalists to carry out the decision of the arbitration court has placed the social-democrats in an extremely difficult position.

For some years ago Kautsky proved irrefutably, with the aid of monstrous falsifications and perversions of Marx, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the coalition of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. By this discovery Kautsky did not in the least destroy his previous discovery of ultra-imperialism. It merely appeared that ultra-imperialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat could peacefully develop within the frontiers of one and the same state.

In 1928 Kautsky's dream was realised and Germany, after the formation of the government of the grand coalition, in which the social-democrats participated as representatives of the working class, passed into the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, into the epoch of peaceful socialist development, which is simultaneously a peaceful, warless and crisisless "ultra-imperialistic" development and is accomplished within the confines of democracy.

The Ruhr mine-magnates' refusal to submit to the decision of the arbitration court at once threatened all that the social-democrats had so diligently created and built up. So it is not surprising that they were highly agitated and on November 1st were shouting in "Vorwaerts": "The employers against the State," "employers' anarchism," "the employers are in revolt against the authority of the State," "the employers are giving the workers an example of open revolt against the law."

In the following number for November 2nd the same theme is repeated, but now more quietly: "The struggle in the metal-working industry," one reads, "is a struggle against the authority of the State, despite all the as-

surances to the contrary coming from the camp of the employers."

However in both numbers the question of employers' anarchism still remains in an undeveloped form, and no practical deductions whatever are drawn (as to what to do, and how to struggle against this latest form of anarchism).

But in the issue for November 3rd, although there is talk of the "act of violence against the law" on the part of the capitalists, the actual article in which this is stated is entitled: "The provocateurs in a cul-de-sac," so that on November 3rd the capitalist anarchists seemed to be not at all terrifying. Then on November 4th there is a big article under the title of "The struggle for the State," and the sub-title reads: "An economic putsch ten years after the revolution." Here the theme of employers' anarchism is developed to its full extent and is treated with great severity.

What had happened? What had forced the social-democrats to raise their voices so loudly? An indirect cause is found in the "Vossische Zeitung," which on November 1st declared: "Evidently this time the employers of the iron and steel industry have entered upon a struggle not only against the workers but against the State also."

So the article began, but at its close the position of the Ruhr industrialists was represented thus: "What? The Minister of Labour, and a social-democrat into the bargain, is to determine the wages? That is monstrous. An end must be put to this. By a struggle against the workers? No. By a struggle against the government, against the State, which dares to take such a line."

The "Vossische Zeitung" had blurted out the social-democratic secret. Whosoever transfers the whole question into the juridical sphere, whosoever puts forward the formula of the "anarchist violation of the law," whosoever sums up the Ruhr lockout by such a formula, must reject the formula of "class against class," and must estimate the capitalists' position not as a struggle against the workers but as a struggle against the State.

What caused the social-democrats to shout much more loudly about the anarchism of the capitalists was however the fact that during the first three days of the lockout the workers

thrown out of the works frightened them by their firm, undeviating will to struggle. The "Vorwaerts" for November 3rd, to which we shall return later, leaves no doubt on this point. A diversion had to be caused; the attention of the workers had to be turned elsewhere; they had to be shown a danger elsewhere from where it really lay.

The article "The struggle for the State" was intended for this purpose.

"The employers," we read in this article, "are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the German revolution with a revolt against the State and against the law which has emerged from the revolution. The great lockout in the West is an attempt to destroy the positions which the working class have captured and consolidated during the revolution and after; this lockout is a storming party against the authority of the State and its social content."

But what are the positions which have been captured by the proletariat? And what does the social content of the democratic state look like?

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS AND THE STATE

This is the explanation given by "Vorwaerts":

"Ten years ago the conflict over wages would have been settled entirely by a social struggle, by force only of the trade union resources. Ten years ago the workers' organisations would have found no protection from the State and its organs, they would then have had to be convinced in practice of the bitter truth that in such a gigantic conflict the State authority was on the side of the organised employers.

"But now the State guarantees the collective agreement. The great social differences are settled not only by resort to the trade union method of struggle, but simultaneously by the force of the political influence which the workers possess in the State. Ten years ago the wages were purely union rates, now they are union and political."

As you see, the positions won by the working class in the revolution seem to be quite miserable ones. It rather seems as though there were no position at all, for the fable of the State guaranteeing the collective agree-

ment and of the State's protection of the workers' organisations has been refuted during these last few days in a manner obvious to the most obstinate of ossified social-democratic minds: with one stroke of the pen the judges in Duisberg refuted all the subtle considerations of the "Vorwaerts" by settling the dispute over the collective agreement between the employers and the trade unions in favour of the capitalists.

As for "social content" of the democratic republic, (which from Kautsky's viewpoint could justly be called a coalition or even a republic of the proletarian dictatorship) it amounts to the new teaching concerning political wages. The ordinary German mark which the worker receives in payment of his labour now appears to be not a simple mark, with which only a certain definite quantity of bread, potatoes and beer can be bought, but a political mark as well. It is true that this new quality does not bring with it a single extra crumb of bread, a single extra potato or one little drop of beer. And so from our coarsely materialistic, Bolshevik viewpoint this new social-democratic theory of political wages is a typical piece of social-democratic verbal-sharpening and a mere making mock of the workers. But that's because we're barbarians. The truly cultured German socialist devoutly kisses the mark of the sacred coalition democracy. Nor should one smile thoughtlessly at these strange theories propounded by "Vorwaerts." The social-democrats are not fools and they have a good knowledge of their own workers. And if their new theories seem to be idiotic, if it is absolutely clear that they won't get far with them nor ride on their backs for long, the cause here lies in the fact that they are confronted with highly developing class contradictions and class struggles, and they are left almost without reserves on which to fall back in order to keep the workers under their further influence in the future.

After accumulating a further heap of horrors on account of the capitalists' "revolt," the capitalists' "insurrection," the "State coup-d'état," and "economic putsches," the "Vorwaerts" finally leads its stupified readers to its fundamental deduction: "The metal industrialists of the western group are engaged in a struggle against the workers and

against the State. The employers are against the State; the workers are on the side of the State."

We see the classically clear and simple formula of "class against class" has in the hands of the social-democrats suffered such alterations that nothing is left of it. Superficially it is the same formula: on the one side the employers: on the other the workers. Between them an irreconcilable contradiction: against the State and for the State — class against class. But the social-content of this contradiction has been radically changed. It now appears that the struggle is being waged not over wages at all and not over profits, (as Professor Dr. Max Wolff kindly explained to us) but for the State and against the State. The struggle is being waged around the State, and the question of wages may only obscure the real aims of the struggle, may only lead one astray. Better therefore to dismiss the question of wages altogether.

Some naive person may perhaps be found to ask several questions: how do you make all this out? The bourgeoisie against a bourgeois State, and the workers for a bourgeois State? And why does the State against which the capitalists have risen take no action against them? Why don't the social-democratic ministers drive the insurgent coalition ministers out of the Government?

But that is just where such people show their simplicity,—putting such strange questions! Although we must admit together with the naive ones that the forgery made by the social-democrats is a clumsy one. But the question of the nature of the coalition democratic State is not exhausted by this. We shall see later that a much finer piece of forgery is being put across in this sphere, and that too in the ranks of the Communists, among persons who hold the party ticket of the German Communist Party.

"VORWAERTS" AND THE TEXTILE EMPLOYERS

We turn now to an article in "Vorwaerts" for November 3rd, entitled "Another 450,000." This article, dealing with the approaching lockout of 450,000 textile workers, is highly significant.

"The position which the textile lords are working for will end in catastrophe not only

for the textile workers but for the textile lords themselves."

Such is the main thesis of the article, the whole force of which is concentrated on the catastrophe threatening the textile lords, but not the textile workers.

The article is addressed to the employers, calls on them, warns them, admonishes them, entreats them.

What is the trouble? What catastrophe threatens the cotton and cloth barons? "Vorwaerts" provides the following answer:

"The measures being undertaken by the textile lords, considered in connection with the struggles called forth by the metal industrialists, have not only an economic significance; they have already far exceeded the limits of the economic spheres and have taken on a serious political importance."

Bravo, bravo! You've learnt a little from the Communists. Continue!

"The agitation among the workers is unusually strong. Go to any large meeting or the big workers' conferences which are considering their attitude to the problems raised by the industrialists, and there you will hear the unequivocal gnashing of teeth of enormous masses of workers, who in no circumstances wish to allow the ruthless method of action of the industrialists. Such expression as 'possibly this is the last sack our bosses will give us from above,' and so on, illumine the position like a lightning flash."

Thanks, thanks, Messrs Social-Democrats! Taken with the admissions of Professor Dr. Max Wolff, your admissions only confirm that the class struggle now begun in Germany is crammed with revolutionary content. We shall remember your admissions. They will be useful.

"VORWAERTS" THREATENS

But not only the textile manufacturers but the Ruhr works owners also are threatened, if not with a catastrophe at any rate with defeat. This defeat is announced in the article "The provocateurs in a cul-de-sac," printed in the same number of "Vorwaerts."

"No matter how long the struggle lasts in the Ruhr, no matter when the employers open the gates of their works again, nothing can save them from defeat," the article declares.

In what will the defeat of the Ruhr capitalists consist? Here we are: "Nothing can save the federation of employers of the north western iron industry from paying the wages and recompense for losses according to the court."

A way out is found. If it is impossible to transform the formula "class against class" into the formula of "capitalists against the State, the workers for the State," there are at least labour courts which are obliged to watch over the sacredness and inviolability of the wage agreements. The great class battle will be settled in court. It will be settled in favour of the workers, for the compulsory arbitration decision announced by the Minister of Labour is equal to a wage agreement. Fidelity to agreements,—it is a convenient slogan for catching the workers. The capitalists are breaking the democratic law, are violating the sacred right, are tearing up the agreements: the workers are faithful to the agreement; they stand guard over right and law.

It is true that the Duisberg Labour Court did not understand the exalted enthusiasm of the social-democrats and pronounced in favour of the capitalists. Never mind! There are other courts in Berlin, and we'll appeal to them.

The social-democrats catch feverishly at all possible straws. If an appeal to the sound sense of the capitalists, to their feelings, is of no avail, you can appeal to their pockets. You yourselves reap no advantage from the lock-out,—they reason with the steel barons—you've got to pay your employees, your watchmen, your taxes, and meantime no profits are coming in. But the barons are as hard as the steel produced by their workers: no concessions, no compromises, through struggle to peace, class against class.

The social-democrats are left with only one other weapon: the betrayal of the workers' interests behind their backs. But this oft-tried and tested method threatens to be unserviceable within the near future.

THE LEFT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

Nor can the left social-democrats put forward any proposals, and they have hidden away round the corner from the menacing

formula of "class against class." In a leading article the "*Leipziger Volkszeitung*" describes the anecdotal ten years' anniversary of the Ministry of Labour, which was celebrated two days before the declaration of the lockout. Representatives of both classes were present at the celebrations. The Minister of Labour, the social-democrat Wissel, extolled the German democracy in his official speech, indicating that at its basis lay the principle: "Man is at the centre of economy." "Two days later," the "*Leipziger Volkszeitung*" states mournfully, hiding its grief beneath a light irony, "the capitalists proclaimed another principle: 'Profit is at the centre of economy!'"

The newspaper ends its article with the words: "We do not think that the employers' attack will improve the conditions of struggle to their advantage. From the heart of the entire German working class must arise an unanimous will to defence."

In an indeterminate, uncrystallised form we again have the formula: "class against class." As an impartial observer, the "*Leipziger Volkszeitung*" recognises the presence of such an extreme intensification of the class struggle, while not in the least being interested in the question of what is to happen next.

The left social-democrat Liebe, takes exercise in left-wing gesticulations at a respectable distance from the front of the struggle. In the social-democratic Vienna "*Arbeiter Zeitung*" he publishes an article in which with the utmost caution he puts forward a proposal for the compulsory confiscation with compensation of a single Ruhr works, which has to serve as a warning to the other owners. This is like putting your fingers to your nose behind someone's back. But this also is proposed on a strict legal basis, on the basis of par. 153 of the German Constitution, which Liebe quotes in full in his article, lest he should be suspected of breaking the law, which God forbid.

We step across the ultra-left Communists of the Trotskyist Leninbund, who gloried in their terrible "leftism," but on the day of the great struggle had nothing to contribute of their own (and they simply repeated the slogans of the Communist Party) and we consider the Communist camp.

§ THE RIGHT-WING COMMUNISTS

We shall begin with the right flank. The latest events in the German Communist Party have clearly displayed strong elements of survival of social-democratic views among the right section of the C.P. To the present day this section cannot reconcile itself to the decision of the E.C.C.I. Presidium on the questions bound up with the Wittdorf affair. It would be an error to think that this affair continues to occupy the centre of the Party's attention. The Ruhr lockout has thrust it far into the background and has confronted the Party with all the basic problems of strike strategy and tactics, all the questions of the leadership of the working masses in their attack, as definite practical tasks.

The Party is resolving those problems in the spirit of the decisions which were taken at the Fourth Congress of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.) and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. The right wingers openly declare their complete disagreement with the decisions of these two congresses and qualify them as demonstrations of an "ultra-left" course. In their view these decisions lead to a complete break with the tactics of the united front, to a split between the organised and the unorganised workers, to a split in the trade unions and to the liquidation of the trade union work which the Party is carrying on, and to the leftward moving, revolutionarily developing workers being driven back to social-democracy.

ATTITUDE OF THE "RIGHT" C.P.

What is the root of the evil, in the view of the right wingers? It appears that it consists in the fact that the congress decisions recommended the organisation of the workers' struggle outside the trade unions, and that to this end elected strike or lockout committees should be established, both the organised and the unorganised workers to be drawn into these elections. The rights not only call this tactic a putschist tactic, but even declare that it represents an avoidance of the difficulties of the struggle with the social-democratic leaders with their bourgeois tendencies.

Then what, in their opinion, should be the true "revolutionary" tactic? It should consist in the creation not of a dual leadership

of the strikes, but of a single leadership. This latter connotes and cannot but connote the resignation of the leadership of the proletariat's economic battles entirely into the hands of the trade unions as before, these being in their turn entirely in the hands of the social-democrats. In a word, in the view of the rights the leadership of the proletariat's economic struggle must remain in the hands of social democracy. For that matter the rights make no attempt to hide this, since they are quite unable to imagine the economic struggles being led by any other than trade unions, or the trade unions being in any other than social democracy's hands. So it was, so it will be—therein is summarised the whole philosophy of the rights.

The social-democratic essence of the right deviation in the German C.P. is most clearly and definitely revealed in the very strike strategy and tactics which they defend in contraposition to the line of the Profintern and the Comintern. So only the direct agents, (albeit unconscious agents) of the social-democrats inside the German C.P. could speak.

Only think! For the first time for several years owing to the leftward movement of the proletariat, owing to their abandonment of social-democracy and the strengthening of the C.P.'s own influence, our C.P.'s both in Germany and in France have got the opportunity of really taking into their hands the leadership of the growing economic attacks of the worker masses. For the first time they have the opportunity of doing this on a large scale, against the frenzied opposition of the social-democratic trade union leaders. For the first time they are succeeding in capturing from the reformers the leadership of the great working masses.

And the right wing sages profoundly tell us concerning these most important successes that this is a demonstration of our weakness, that we are dodging the difficulties of the struggle against the social-democratic leaders by rejecting the tactics of the united front. We are opportunists, since we "place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders" (an exact quotation). The meaning of this last ludicrous asseveration is that the social-democratic leaders are against the carrying through of the united front tactic and will not allow

the Communists into the unions, consequently the Communists want to carry it through outside the unions. That means that they place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders.

CHANGED CONDITIONS

The rights refer to the decisions of the Third Comintern Congress to prove that the decisions of the last congresses of the Profintern and the Comintern revoke the decisions of the Third Congress. By so doing they only prove that they have never understood and even now do not understand the united front tactics. The new united front tactic is the direct projection of the former tactics in face of conditions which have changed in a favourable sense.

In what do those changes consist? In a leftward movement of the working masses, in a weakening of the influence of the social-democrats, in a strengthening of the influence of the C.P. The former correlation of forces between the C.P. and the social-democracy was really such that owing to the former's weakness the carrying through of the united front tactics depended on the social-democrats' attitude. Now we are strong enough to have been able largely to extend our tactics of the united front, spreading it among the wide masses of unorganised workers. Our activities have come to depend much less on the conduct of the leaders of social-democracy, and that dependence grows weaker every day. The right wing sages want to drag us back to a period now outlived, they want everything to remain as of old, i.e., they want to maintain the previous dependence of the united front tactics on the social-democratic leaders. Yes, of course, "only opportunists can place the united front tactics in dependence on the conduct of the social-democratic leaders." The rights have provided a very precise characterisation of themselves.

OPPOSITION FROM THE "RIGHT"

Together with the social-democratic and trade union leaders they are putting obstacles in the way of our getting a free hand with the leftward moving masses, frightening us with the prospect of a split between the

organised and the unorganised workers. But with every successive day reality contradicts still more the fears of the rights. By the very fact that the Communists are taking on themselves the organisation of the unorganised, and their attraction into the trade unions, they are liquidating that line of demarcation between the organised and the unorganised which the social-democrats are striving by all means to maintain and to deepen. The Communists are in favour of the extension of the trade unions, in favour of fresh millions being drawn into them; the trade union bureaucrats, who are threatened with a complete loss of their influence, are against. The Communists are for a single leadership of the economic struggles of the masses; the social-democrats, who do not recognise any elected strike committees except those appointed from above and composed of trade union officials, are in reality in favour of a dual leadership of the strikes. But the "right" Communists have dabbled so deeply in social-democratic prejudices that they see everything in an upside-down, inverted social-democratic form.

To what depths of decline the rights have sunk is evident from the following episode. The slogan characteristic of the previous united front tactics was "force the trade union bureaucrats." This slogan expressed the dependence of the practical realisation of the united front tactic on the trade union bureaucrats. Now, in connection with the enormous extension of the united front tactic, in connection with the possibility of carrying it through independently of the leaders of the trade unions, the slogan has been completely withdrawn. The rights are not at all pleased with this. And on this account they express themselves literally in the following words:

"These tactics (the new united front tactic) has already led to the formation of bands armed with cudgels, to clashes between workers and workers. The withdrawal of the slogan has thus led in practice to the "revolutionary" [what venomous inverted commas!] slogan: force the workers to strike by use of cudgels."

This is a direct defence of the strikebreakers against the pickets set by the strikers. That is all one can call it.

"RIGHT" PROPOSALS

And what practical proposals do the rights make in regard to the Ruhr conflict of classes?

They put forward "revolutionary transitional slogans." These social-democrats in Communist clothing are prepared to declare any genuinely revolutionary work an ultra-left putsch; (in no way can we save ourselves from this uninvited assistance of the rights in the struggle with the ultra-lefts and vice-versa) under the form of revolutionary transitional slogans they thrust before us the most reactionary of all that were ever invented by the Mensheviks.

"The first step should be to demand of the Government the further payment of wages to the locked-out workers at the cost of the employers. If we are successful in mobilising the masses to this end, it will prove to be the best of preparations for the extension of the militant divisions and for drawing into them such important categories of workers as the miners and the railwaymen. Thus the prerequisites will be established for the transformation of the struggle for wages into a political struggle for power. Simultaneously committees of action should be formed from the workers and employees for the control of the false statistics of the magnates of the steel trusts, with particular reference to the ostensible inability of the steel industry to meet competition owing to the workers' demands (the confiscation of all commercial documents and the disclosure of commercial secrets)."

And then comes the point concerning the establishment of the "single" strike leadership which we have already quoted.

Such is the "program of action" invented last year by Brandler from the aspect of its practical application. That is how the Brandler "control over production," which was not for nothing called the blood brother of the social-democratic "industrial democracy," appears in practice.

The words referring to the political struggle for power can neither bribe nor delude us. The rights' conceptions of the political struggle for power are entirely along social-democratic lines. The social-democrats represent that struggle in the form of the parliamentary struggle. Only let the social-democrats collect a majority of votes in the

parliamentary elections and get a majority of deputies, and the whole job is done, the years of struggle for power will come to a favourable end in the most peaceful fashion.

The "right" Communists also propose a similar peaceful road. Only let them succeed in mobilising a majority of the workers around the demand for wages to be paid by the Government at the cost of the capitalists, and the job is done, power is won, the proletarian dictatorship is established, and all without any of your revolutions, insurrections, civil wars and other Bolshevik attributes.

Simultaneously, quite arbitrarily, committees of action formed from the workers and employees are summarily to make their appearance, first establishing a control over the swindling falsifications of the capitalists; and thence it is only a step to control over production, and then nationalisation of all the factories and works is quite close.

A revolution without revolution, an insurrection without arms, nationalisation without violence, class struggle without struggle!

What a marvellous prospect! How simple, easy, clear it all is! And what putrid Menshevism all this idyll stinks of!

A RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

Once upon a time, twenty-three years ago, a Menshevik named Axelrod thought out a cunning tactic which was intended to give the Russian proletariat the possibility of getting on without a struggle, and to enter the paradise of bourgeois parliamentarism without any effort. The Tsarist Government proclaimed the establishment of the State Duma, and the election law for it was drawn up by a Tsarist official named Bulygin, after whose name this (unsummoned) Duma was called the Bulygin Duma. The Bulygin electoral law entirely deprived the workers of the right of participation in the elections. And then Axelrod appeared, and proposed that the workers should not pay any attention to the law, but should occupy themselves seriously with the elections. That which is elected by the people is sacred. The workers would elect their own Duma, and the Tsarist Government would have to fold their hands in their perplexity and declare: "Well, what's to be done? Once they've been elected by the peo-

ple we cannot but recognise them." And if the Tsarist Government tried to prevent this game of elections, these "mock elections," as the Bolsheviks called them, very serious consequences might conceivably arise for it.

And it is this very parliamentary game of Axelrod's that the right with their "committees of action" are projecting. Instead of the real class political struggle we are to have miserable attempts of two or three committee members, armed with nothing more than questionable mandates, to get inside the strong rooms of the capitalists, into the holy of holies of the trusts and syndicates, which are defended by the whole armed force of the capitalist State.

The rights replace the formula of "class against class" by the formula of "committees of action against the watchmen."

And nothing can alter their dependence on the mobilisation of the masses around the demand that the Government should pay wages at the expense of the capitalists.

Such a slogan only leads the masses into delusions concerning the real class nature of the present Government. If it is really capable of satisfying this demand and so of acting against the capitalist class then this coalition social-democratic bourgeois Government is a workers' Government already.

THE "RIGHT" AND STABILISATION

The right Communists fall straight into the arms of the social-democrats, who are extensively spreading this view of the present Government. Moreover, the right Communists go farther than the social-democrats in this matter, for the latter have never proposed to demand wages from the Government at the expense of the capitalists, and have even been against the payment of auxiliary pay to the unorganised locked-out workers. Whilst if the rights themselves do not believe that the present Government will act against the capitalists the tactics they propose is an absolutely impermissible deception of the masses.

What is the basic source of such a profound decline among the rights, such a social-democratic degeneration? Respect for capitalist stabilisation, which to them appears to be incomparably more stable than it really is, complete subservience to the growing power of

the capitalist class and the Social-Democratic Party, and still more complete distrust of the power of the proletariat, and a denial of their leftward trend. Only such a profoundly pessimistic evaluation of immediate prospects could drive them to the invention of cunning manoeuvres which would provide the possibility of replacing the missing strength by cunning and of getting along without a struggle. In the right interpretation the formula "class against class" takes on this form: "The mighty class of capitalists against the weak working class." Hence the liquidator's conclusion: "Workers, throw yourselves on the mercy of the capitalists! Communists, throw yourselves on the mercy of the social-democrats!"

Truly the rights are dangerous to the Party. They will sabotage the tactic of the united front.

§ THE RECONCILERS

After the rights one can consider the reconcilers. They are distinguished from the rights by the fact that they do not speak as they act nor do they act as they speak. They form a bloc with the rights on a number of political and internal Party questions, they protect the right, act as their advocates, and make light of their social-democratic sins.

On the stabilisation question their viewpoint is much closer to that of the rights than to that of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. They do not deny the intensification of class contradictions, but with the rights they exaggerate the strength of the capitalist class, with the rights they cannot see the decline of the social-democrats' influence among the masses behind their purely superficial accession of strength, with the rights they underestimate the leftward movement of the working masses.

The reconcilers' formulas are not so resolute as those of the rights; they are more flexible, more elastic.

DEFENCE AND ATTACK

Thus, as distinct from the rights they do not at all deny the intensification of the class struggle, but they lay emphasis on the point that the chief feature of the present Ruhr conflict is that it is a capitalist attack. Hence the deduction that the proletariat is only

defending itself. It is on this point that they differ from the Party, which correctly considers that we have in the Ruhr the existence of a responsive attack of the proletariat, which serves as an indication of the revolutionary character of the incipient class struggles. Among the reconcilers the formula "Class against class" is transformed into the formula "The capitalist class is on the attack, the proletariat are on the defence." The revolutionary prospect of the extension of the front of class struggles, the mobilisation of the proletariat, its organisation in the struggle with all its consequences in a swift growth of the influence of the Communist Party, and of the latter's conquest of the trade unions—all this is completely absent from the reconcilers' outlook.

On the question of the strategy and tactics of the economic struggle, which is the one interesting us at present, the reconcilers, in distinction from the rights, formally recognise the decisions of the Fourth Profintern Congress, but in practice they oppose the Party in its struggle against the rights, sabotaging these decisions and openly struggling against them.

The following episode is typical. Point seven of the resolution of the last Party conference read as follows:

"This is possible only under the condition that the Party unswervingly carries out the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern and ruthlessly smashes the opposition of the right fraction to these decisions."

Comrade Ewert proposes to strike out these lines and to substitute in their place:

"This is possible only by a sound application of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Profintern, by an overcoming of all vacillations and any opposition to them, and by a resolute course for the improvement of the trade union work."

This means the concealment and defence of the rights in the very spots where they are strongest and where they are closest of all to the social-democrats, namely in the trade unions.

After that it is possible in one of the later points formally to agree to a "systematic struggle against the right views and groups."

They say one thing and do another.

The pessimistic outlook on the future held

by the reconcilers is most clearly indicated in the declaration that the further development of the Party is threatened with "terrible danger" (the rights say "destruction") in connection with the unsound decision of the E.C.C.I. on the Wittdorf affair.

This is said at a moment when the Party is successfully organising tens of thousands of locked-out workers and with a continually firmer hand is carrying through the tactics of the united front.

§ THE PROSPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

The newspaper "Arbeit" wrote on the Ruhr lockout from an original aspect.

"The lockout which was declared on the Rhenish-Westphalian metal workers from October 31st," it says, "is very close to the British miners' lockout of May 1st, 1926 in its importance. In both cases the lockout of the most important category of workers in the respective countries (in Britain the miners, in Germany the metal workers) connotes the capitalists' passing to a resolute attack on the whole of the working class. The employers count in advance on the possibility of an extension of the front of struggle, in certain places they are even artificially extending it, and also on the possibility of the conflict being a protracted one, in order once for all to break the opposition of the proletariat. The first battle may possibly be difficult, but with the co-operation of the reformists victory is ensured them, and this victory will connote the complete defeat of the working class—the British experience bears testimony to that—and the capitalists are far better at taking international experience into account than are the short-sighted Amsterdam leaders of the trade unions.

"In distinction from the capitalists the German social-democratic leaders are blindly repeating the mistakes (or simply the treachery) of their British colleagues."

To finish our quotations we cite also the end of the article:

"The task of taking the leadership of the strike into the hands of the Communists has to be achieved at all costs, for it is a matter of the fate of the German proletariat. The victory or defeat of the Rhenish metal workers.

will connote the victory or defeat of the German proletariat for many years to come." (*Arbeit*, November 2nd.)

WILL THERE BE A DEFEAT?

We will analyse this point of view.

In the first place, three preliminary remarks.

First: It is inaccurate to say of the Amsterdam leaders of the trade unions that they are shortsighted and that they are worse than the capitalists at taking international experience into account. This may be interpreted as meaning that only shortsightedness prevents the Amsterdamers from carrying out a proletarian policy. We consider that the Amsterdamers are not at all shortsighted and that they know how to utilise international experience as well as the capitalists. If the proletariat loses in its economic struggles under their leadership it is to be explained not by their errors or shortsightedness, but by their systematical betrayal of the interests of the working class. For the same reason it is unsound to say as does this article: "The German social-democratic leaders are blindly repeating the mistakes (or simply treachery) of their British colleagues." One of the two: either a mistake or else treachery.

Secondly: It is unsound to adduce an analogy between the lockout of the British miners in May, 1926, and the present lockout in Germany, and still more is it unsound to draw any conclusion on the basis of this analogy as to the inevitable defeat of the German proletariat. Of course, there are certain similarities between the two lockouts: both are lockouts, and in both cases the capitalists are attacking, and in both cases they are attacking the most important sections of the proletariat. But the similarities end there. Beyond that there are a number of big differences: in Britain the miners only defended themselves, in Germany the metal-workers have begun a counter-attack. In Britain the miners stood alone, despite the general strike of protest, which itself revealed that almost the entire organised British proletariat is in complete subjection to the perfidious traitors of the General Council. In Germany big lockouts are arising in other spheres of industry. The capitalists themselves are driving the workers of separate

spheres into separate attacks. In Britain the Communist Party's influence was weak, in Germany it is incomparably stronger. (This is already confirmed by the Ruhr experience). Finally, the international situation was also different, it was at another stage.

It is enough to cite only these differences in order to recognise that any deduction as to the inevitability of the defeat of the German metal workers and as to the further consequences of that defeat drawn from such an analogy is an unsound policy.

Thirdly: If the victory of the capitalists is ensured, as the first half of the article says, "and this victory will connote the complete defeat of the working class," as is said with complete justice in the same passage, how is it possible at the end of the article to say: "the victory or defeat of the German proletariat"?

After these remarks we pass to the fundamental question: what are the prospects of the struggle that has begun? Is the defeat of the Ruhr metal workers inevitable? Will that defeat also mean the defeat of the entire German proletariat for many years to come?

Only the ultra-left babblers can think that it is not decent for a Communist to speak of defeat, that the very talk of the possibility and still more of the inevitability of defeat is equivalent almost to the blackest treachery to the proletarian cause. In their view the proletarian may speak only of victory, and if he begins to stammer about defeat then obviously he is a defeatist. It would not hurt to remind such ultra-left phrasemongers that Marx in 1871 predicted the inevitability of the defeat of the French workers.

But is there any basis at the present moment for condemning the locked-out Ruhr miners to an inevitable defeat? There is no justification for this whatever. Of course, the possibility of defeat is not excluded, but the possibility of victory is also not excluded, and consequently there can be no talk of the inevitability of defeat. The whole course of the lock-out, the whole development of the struggle irrefutably demonstrates that the metal-workers' chances of victory are growing. Undoubtedly the capitalists entered the struggle more prepared and more organised than were the workers. But during the two weeks of lockout the proletariat under the

leadership of the Communist Party have performed marvels of organisation. During two weeks the German C.P., first applying the tactics of the united front, have gathered seventy thousand workers around the demands put forth by it. Such a swift emancipation from the influence of the social-democratic party, such a rise and such a revolt have not been observable in the German working class for many a long day.

The militant spirit of the masses is not only not broken, but on the contrary, their resolution to struggle is growing with every day. So far they are not even thinking of surrender. The masses are learning in the struggle, through the experience of the united front tactics, things the German workers' movement has never yet seen or known in the direct struggle with capital. The masses are learning new fruitful forms of struggle through experience. Through experience they are becoming convinced of their own power when they act as a compact united front. The masses see that the chief hindrance to the extension of the united front and the bringing of all the locked-out workers into it is the trade union bureaucracy. The masses are mastering the art of the swift organisation of their ranks. The masses are breaking with the legalist traditions and with their respect for the bourgeois laws.

Finally, the masses are beginning to understand the formula: "class against class." They are beginning to pass from the economic to the political struggle.

THE EFFECTS OF THE STRUGGLE

No matter how this present lockout ends—even in complete defeat—the enormous lesson of that struggle, begun under new conditions, will not pass in vain for the working masses. It will open the eyes of many of them, and they will see and understand the prerequisites of their further struggle and the conditions of their victory incomparably better than before.

The chances of the workers being successful have clearly increased during the two weeks of the lockout. But on the basis of our experience of this lockout we can now say on what depends the further increase in the chances of victory. It depends on the Communist Party. Before the lockout and even

during its first days no one would have been bold enough to say that. But now, on the basis of experience, that is proved irrefutably. The German C.P. is the weight which may depress the scales in favour of the proletariat. The result of the struggle depends to an enormous extent on the energy, resolution, daring and flexibility of the C.P. Why has this happened? It is because the working masses have moved leftward, because the leftward process is speeded up every day. The class perception of Dr. Max Wolff even before the lockout accurately told him from which direction the chief danger in the forthcoming struggles was to be expected, and the social-democrats accurately gauged the attitude of the workers on the third day of that lockout.

With such a course of development of the struggle, to speak of the inevitability of defeat involves seeing the whole prospect in a monstrously distorted form. To predict the defeat of the entire working class, and for long years at that, means the denial of the recently adopted decision of the Comintern Sixth Congress which speaks of the leftward movement of the working class, and of the growth of its will to fight, and finally it means the inability to see that in Germany class is being aligned against class and that a ruthless struggle is beginning between them.

The German capitalists consider that the forthcoming class battles will bring with them a "purifying crisis." They count on "cleansing" the working class from the Communist infection. We also consider the forthcoming crisis a "purifying" one. The German working class may be cleansed of the social-democratic infection. During two weeks the Communist Party has organised 70,000 workers in temporary strike organisations. That means that in the coming months of struggle they can organise a million. These newly organised workers will have to be carried into the trade unions and with their help the C.P. must throw out of them the social-democratic trade union bureaucracy and thus win the trade unions, while the best advance-guard of these newly organised workers must be poured into its own ranks. That is the minimum of what the German Communist Party can achieve in the now developing class battles.

A FORGOTTEN FACTOR

Whosoever predicts the defeat of the German proletariat is leaving the German Communist Party out of account; in other words, he is eliminating the decisive force in the present distribution and development of class forces.

Class against class connotes the organised capitalist class (including the social-democrats in this category) attacking the proletariat, on the one hand, and on the other the swiftly organising working class, driving the social-traitors out of its ranks and leading a counter-attack against the capitalist class under the direct leadership of the C.P. Such are the tendency and the prospect of the coming weeks and months.

Even if the conflict in the Ruhr were to end with the defeat of the workers, whether in consequence of the treachery of the social-democrats, which is probable, or in consequence of the weakening of their own ranks—the intensification of the class struggle, the intensification of the class battles, the consolidated, united attack of both struggling classes—class against class—is inevitable.

The defeat of the metal workers can only delay, but cannot completely check this revolutionary process.

Consequently there can be no talk of the complete defeat of the German proletariat, still less of a defeat lasting for many years.

§ ON SLOGANS

The intensification of the class struggle, the attack of the capitalists, the counter-attack and defence of the proletariat, the extension of the struggle, the new forms of organisation of enormous divisions of the proletariat in a united front, without distinction of religious and political convictions, the swift growth of the C.P. influence among the workers, the incipient transference of the struggle from the economic to the political field—all these factors make the question of the political slogans of the movement of paramount importance.

For the proletariat, which enters the struggle far from as well organised as the capitalist class, the political slogans which could unite the disintegrated attacks of its various sections, whether acting simultaneously or not in point of time, and could give them a unity of purpose, are of special importance.

Let us see what political slogans are being raised by the various groups participating in the struggle now begun.

We have already seen that in the name of the capitalists the following slogans are being raised: through struggle to peace and reconciliation with the workers (i.e., the reconciliation of the workers to the conditions which the capitalists have offered them). Taken by themselves these slogans are hardly political, for example when these demands put forward by one group of capitalists to a section of the working class. But in the Ruhr conflict these slogans are being put forward in the name of the entire capitalist class (and are supported by the entire class) and the capitalist ultimatum is presented through the metal workers to the entire working class. The device, "class against class," which was raised by the capitalists at the beginning of the lockout, means that the demands of the Ruhr lockout lords will be presented by other sections of the capitalists to their workers. In such a form such slogans as "not a pfennig on the pay," "no compromise," "through struggle to peace," and so on have a direct political significance. The political aim which the capitalists are acting themselves in this struggle is the suffocating of the will to struggle now being manifested among the proletariat, the humbling of the proletariat, the establishing of "economic peace." The slogan "through struggle to peace" is a political slogan. In the struggle with the working class the capitalists have no other political slogans. It is erroneous for instance to explain the capitalists' attack (as does the "Vorwaerts" and as certain Communists think) by the influence of the German nationalists, who are said to be striving to inflict a blow at the existing coalition government. It is a serious mistake to think so. In this struggle the nationalists have not put forward nor will they put forward the slogan of "Down with the coalition government." Of course, there are differences among them on the question of a coalition with the social-democrats and with the centre party. A number of political differences exist among various of the bourgeois parties (including the social-democratic party) but none of these differences has any importance in the struggle now unfolding. In an enormous lockout, which, according to the

intentions of the capitalists, has to embrace the entire working class (by means of a lock-out to force the workers to cut short all struggle and to work on terms dictated by the capitalists) the capitalists are also achieving a united front of the entire capitalist class (including the social-democrats) which is possible only through a general agreement of all the participants in that united front to cut short any internal disputes during the lock-out. This is an absolutely identical united capitalist front to that which we saw during the plebiscite on the question of the cruiser construction. The close association between German imperialism and militarism on the one hand and the Ruhr lockout with its further prospect of a general lockout of the entire German proletariat on the other, is clearly emphasised by the unity of the component forces of the united capitalist front in both cases.

The capitalist united front may be broken in connection with the lockout in consequence of the intensification of the differences among its participants. But so far there is nothing to testify to such a possibility; on the contrary the bourgeois parties are, in a united front with the social-democrats, attacking the locked-out workers in the Reichstag, and the interests of those workers are there represented only by the Communist Party. The nationalists are not such political fools as to break the united capitalist front, which at the moment is working for them, assisting them, supporting them against the workers, just because of internal differences. The social-democrats, who have entered this united front, find it absolutely necessary to represent the matter as though no united capitalist front exists at all, and as though the lockout capitalists want to overthrow the coalition government, to carry through an "economic counter-revolution" (the "Vorwaerts" has brought this scarecrow also into action), a State coup d'état, and so on. "The industrialists against the State"—such is the false political slogan which is being widely broadcast by the social democrats in order to conceal from the working class their own and the trade union bureaucracy's participation in the united capitalist front. "The industrialists against the State" is a false political slogan put forward in order to obtain the possibility of putting forward a second false political slogan:

"The workers are for the State," for the purpose of disorganising them, drawing their forces off from the real fighting front, and breaking up and disintegrating the workers' united front.

The characteristic peculiarity of the moment consists in the very fact that the capitalists are openly announcing their united front, while the social democrats are endeavouring to represent the position as though in the first place there is no united front at all (the nationalists against the bourgeois parties in the coalition) and secondly as though the lock-out lords, by acting against the coalition, are thus acting against the social-democracy also, by which the non-participation of the latter in the united front is demonstrated.

Consequently the basic tasks arising out of these characteristics of the present moment, are:

1. To unmask to all the workers the capitalists' organisation of a united front against the entire working class, and to prove this on the basis of their innumerable personal declarations, on the basis of arguments and facts.

2. To prove that the social-democrats and the trade union bureaucrats are participating in this united capitalist front, and to prove it on the basis of their actions during the lock-out.

3. To disclose the falseness of the slogan: "the capitalists against the State," and to prove the participation of the State (the government) in the same united front, together with the capitalists and the social-democrats.

4. To unmask the profound falsity of the slogan: "The workers are for the State," revealing the capitalist nature of that State (and government) on the basis of their activities during the lockout.

5. To prove to the workers, facts in hand, that the united capitalist front is the same as the united capitalist anti-plebiscite (cruiser) front.

6. To place before the workers the necessity of a united front of the proletariat, in contrast to the united front of the capitalists, the coalition bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union leaders. To explain the necessity of the organised formulation and consolidation of the workers' united

front (the organised working class against the organised capitalist class).

In accordance with these basic political tasks there have to be worked out the political slogans of the united proletarian front. Any other slogans cutting across these and clashing with them, weakening them, drawing the attention of the masses away from the basic slogans, are unsound.

We shall take by way of example the slogans put forward at the beginning by the Ruhr organisation of the German Communist Party: (1) Down with the social-democratic ministers, and (2) Down with the trade union social-democratic bosses.

UN SOUND SLOGANS

Both these slogans are unsound and may lead to a number of unsound conclusions and actions.

First the slogan: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," is unsound first and foremost for the same reason that all slogans are unsound which separate the social-democrats and pick them out from the bourgeois parties in this incipient gigantic clash of classes. In this clash the social-democrats are joined in the united front with all the bourgeois parties, and their separation from the united capitalist front as occupying a kind of special position in this clash of classes will assist the social-democrats to maintain their deception concerning their non-participation in the united capitalist front.

Secondly: In regard to this slogan the question arises: But are the bourgeois Ministers better than the social-democratic Ministers? Why not raise the slogan: "Down with the bourgeois Ministers"?

Thirdly, the slogan: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," puts the problem of the conquest of power inaccurately. The overthrow of the social-democratic Ministers will not mean a resolution of the problem of power; there are still the bourgeois Ministers left.

In general the unmasking of the social-democrats now may and must be carried on not by separating them from the united front but by incessantly disclosing the fact of their participation in that front.

The slogan: "Down with the trade union

(or social-democratic) bosses" is of no service for this same last reason.

But in addition, if this last slogan is raised as a political slogan, then it is quite unsound. Why? Because it may lead to a replacing of the revolutionary struggle for power by propaganda and agitation for the capture of the elected position in the trade unions, which will find the willing support of the right wing Communists, who necessarily put forward the same slogan.

It is one thing to say that without a conquest of the trade unions a seizure of power in Germany is impossible; in certain conditions this may prove to be accurate. It is another thing to say that the conquest of the trade unions is the same as the conquest of power. Such a statement would be highly erroneous.

Both these slogans: "Down with the social-democratic Ministers," and "Down with the trade union bosses," as well as a number of others specially directed against the social-democrats ("Down with the Hermann Müller Government," for instance, or, "Down with the Braun Gresinski cabinet in Prussia") may suggest a general "collective" slogan: "Down with the social-democrats," which may conceal the slogans directed against the capitalists, and this also would be unsound.

What are the basic proletarian slogans which are applicable to the correlation of forces and the developing struggle at the present time?

In our view the following are such slogans:

(1) The capitalists openly announce the organisation of their own united front against the proletariat for the attack on the working class. Workers, organise a united front of the entire proletariat for resistance to and a counter-attack against the entire capitalist class.

(2) Down with the capitalist lockout lords and the coalition bourgeois-social-democratic government which is in their hands.

(3) Down with the triple alliance of the capitalists, the bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union bosses.

(4) The one and the same united front of capitalists, bourgeois-social-democratic government and the trade union bosses is strangling the workers and building a cruiser to the glory of German imperialism.

(5) Class against class: a united front of the proletariat with the Communist Party at its head, against the united front of the coalition government and the capitalists and social-democrats.

(6) A workers'-peasants' government.

These six slogans should be made the basis of the other political slogans.

* * * *

The struggle in the Ruhr is developing into a gigantic clash of classes, which in the next few months will occupy the most prominent place in the field of history. The disposition of forces has already been elucidated. The

basic aims of both sides in the struggle are also clear. As the first two weeks of the lockout proved irrefutably, the final result of the struggle depends to an enormous extent on the Communist Party. That Party is now called upon to put forth a colossal exertion of all its forces, to mobilise its members and concentrate them on the most important sections of the fighting front.

The German proletariat is rising for the struggle. It is filled with determination, it is preparing for stubborn, ruthless struggles.

Consequently the German C.P. needs first and foremost to display revolutionary audacity.



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Reformism in the U.S.A. Presidential Elections

N. Nasonov

THE first summarised information on the results of the elections in the U.S.A. show that about 20,000,000 votes were given for the republicans, 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 for the democrats, 300,000 for the socialists and about 100,000 for the Communists. The figures for the socialists and Communists have not yet been checked by our own sources of information and are drawn from the "Daily Herald." The total figures, which show greater participation of the population in the elections as compared with previous elections, testify to the victory of one of the two capitalist parties, i.e., the Republican Party. About 36,000,000 to 40,000,000 persons took part in the elections—quite a large part of the population. Needless to say, there was a good deal of trickery, forgery and bribery during the elections. There was terror, pressure from the administration and from the State and economic machinery generally, and so the election cannot be regarded as a genuine democratic manifestation of the will of the American electors. None the less the elections are significant.

PARTIES OF "BIG BUSINESS"

A number of newspapers indicated that Hoover's election would connote the continuation and extension of the imperialist policy. Hoover's victory was regarded as the victory of Big Business. However, such a view is one-sided. Smith's election would have had essentially the same connotation. Smith is also bound closely with finance capital; in external and internal policy, like Hoover, he would carry on in the interests of finance capital. The position of finance capital is sufficiently strong to ensure that any president will carry out Wall Street's policy. Smith had no thought of being a revolutionary, nor was he such. He is the Governor of New York State, to which post he was elected by the votes of the city of New York. To be Governor

of New York it is necessary to have the approval of Wall Street.

One does not need the gift of prophecy to say that there will be an immediate intensification of the aggression of Yankee imperialism. But the aggression will be intensified not because Hoover has been elected, but because of deeper economic reasons. Hoover's election as such is merely a symptom of the intensification of imperialism's attack.

AMERICAN WORKERS' MOVE TO THE LEFT

But the recent election signals something else. What does the election tell us of the attitude of the working class? The fact of the leftward trend of the American workers has been noted more than once. Did it reveal itself in this election, and if so, in what way? The figures tell of an increase in the votes cast for the Communist Party. The very fact that Communists were put forward not in sixteen States, as formerly, but in thirty-six, witnesses to this leftward trend. But this is direct testimony to the leftward movement of only a small section of the working class, a movement which is still insufficiently deep and stable to have any influence on the country's policy.

But the votes cast for the Communist Party are not the only indicator. Formerly the American working class in its entirety followed the bourgeois parties, their slogans and their election platforms; it is still following them, for very few votes were cast for the Communists by comparison with those cast for the capitalist parties. None the less, judging by certain facts, one may not draw the conclusion that the working class in the U.S.A. is completely inert politically. A testimony to the increase in the political activity of the workers and of their leftward trend is provided by the growth of the reformist attitude which was revealed during the past election. For reformism makes its

appearance when the class struggle grows acute. Compromising ideas are necessary to the bourgeoisie only when the class divisions begin to be highly marked. The very word "compromise" presupposes the presence of two tendencies which are not in agreement. The basis for reformism is the labour aristocracy, but the condition of an extensive conscious application of reformist methods of duping the proletariat is the intensification of class contradictions.

REFORMISM IN THE U.S.A.

Reformism has made its appearance in the U.S.A. on former occasions. The characteristic feature of American reformism was always the appearance of a third party as the result of the workers' abandoning the traditional system of two parties. It is worth while giving brief consideration to the manifestation of reformism at previous United States elections, so as to obtain a better understanding of the peculiarity of the reformism which made its appearance at the last elections.

The first "extraordinarily clear and distinct demonstration of bourgeois reformism as a means of struggle against socialism" (Lenin) in the U.S.A., was during the 1912 elections, when the Progressive Party obtained over 4,000,000 votes. The demonstration of reformism took the form of the organisation of a "third party."

The "two-party system," which had reigned in the U.S.A. and in Britain, was one of the strongest resources for hindering the development of an independent workers' party, i.e., of a really socialist party. And in the U.S.A., in the country where capitalism is most advanced, the two-party system suffered defeat! What caused that failure? "The strength of the workers' movement, the growth of socialism." (Lenin, the same article.)

The failure of the two-party system coincided with an industrial crisis in the U.S.A. None the less Lenin was mistaken when he considered that the two-party system had suffered a final defeat. The third party was later destroyed as the socialist party and an independent workers' movement generally was destroyed. For Lenin could not foresee the world war in its concrete form and the role

of the U.S.A. during the first years of the war. The war saved the U.S.A., it renewed its capitalism and preserved the two-party system. The American bourgeoisie bought a respite from the development of socialism out of its war-profits.

THE RED SPECTRE

None the less, in 1924 the U.S.A. again saw the spectre of Communism. The presidential elections of 1924 were carried on under conditions of an agricultural crisis and the ruin of the farmers, and very soon after the time when at every step the American bourgeoisie was afflicted with the spectre of the red danger. And bourgeois reformism again manifested itself in the form of a crisis in the two-party system and the appearance of a third party: the Lafollette party, which collected about five million votes. None the less the Lafollette movement also, although it collected so many votes, still did not mean the complete smash of the two-party system, since the total votes cast in elections had risen to more than double those cast in 1912.

The characteristic peculiarity of the Lafollette party was its farmer basis. The Lafollette movement everywhere developed first and foremost as a farmers' movement. Needless to say, such a reformist movement could not capture the industrial workers.

The Lafollette movement had some success among part of the workers, particularly among the labour aristocracy. It was not for nothing that the American Federation of Labour decided officially to support Lafollette's candidature.

But this time also American capitalism succeeded in consolidating certain of its positions and in saving the two-party system once more. The petty bourgeois rentiers were satisfied with the receipts from loans—this section of American society is swiftly growing as the U.S.A.'s role as a world usurer increases.

The support of the Lafollette movement—the farmers and the clamorous petty bourgeoisie—was taken from the third party. But reformism continues to gather strength in its own peculiar forms among the workers.

PROSPERITY AND POVERTY

For the American workers "prosperity" has its seamy sides. Five million unemployed, a fall in wages in a number of industries, the

smash-up of the miners' union, the shooting down of the demonstration in Colorado (the first for a decade), the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti—these are what the past year of "prosperity" has brought the workers.

Cut off by a high wall of protective tariffs, American industry can no longer live on its internal markets to such an extent as formerly. The U.S.A. is being more and more compelled to seek external markets, where "expensive American labour" has to compete with the "cheap European labour power."

The differential profit obtained by the American capitalists on the basis of their advanced technique and rationalisation is diminishing as rationalisation and technical improvements increase in Europe. The well-being of the States, based on the consumption demand of their own farmers, is beginning to be shaken as the farmers grow more indigent, and as agriculture become industrialised. Canada, the Argentine and other countries are beginning to compete strongly with the American farmers. America is being more and more transformed from a self-existent country into one closely bound up with the world market. Having become the leader of world capitalism, America has shared and must share all its travails.

That is why among the governing American bourgeoisie there is increasing discussion of the problem of the salvation of capitalism (as the democrats seek to raise the question), or, at the very least, of its insurance (as the republicans put it). "Prosperity" is on the wane. How soon it will set it is difficult to predict. But the consumptive flush on the face of "prosperity" is becoming more and more pronounced. When will the next crisis come?—that is what everyone in the U.S.A. is wondering at the present time. The panics of the Exchange during the past year, the questionnaires on the crisis, the discussions of that crisis, the issue of paper values which are "insured against any crisis whatever" (a practice which is growing common among the American banks of recent times), these are some of the superficial symptoms of the approaching crisis.

A THREATENED CRISIS

The crisis did not arrive, but it still continues to threaten the American bourgeoisie

The crisis is deferred, but its ghost continues to haunt the United States. And so present-day reformism is still half-hearted and is not so very stable. The business mustn't be spoilt by its too hurried appearance! Meantime the bourgeoisie have learnt the lessons of the past, and so consciously they do not want to permit the development of a third party.

Reformism did not appear as a "third party" at the last elections, but it revealed its existence in one of the two capitalist parties. In its candidate, Smith, the Democratic Party took on itself the fulfilment of part of the reformist functions. It is worth while reading the socialist and Liberal press comment on Smith in order immediately to perceive the reformist features of his candidature. The "Nation," the most widely distributed Liberal journal in the U.S.A., wrote: "We find it difficult to advise our readers to vote for Smith or Thomas [the socialist candidate.] There is so much that is common and uncertain in their platforms. Let every reader choose for himself." The journal which during the past year has conducted a campaign against both parties in favour of a third party now finds it difficult to see any difference between the socialist Thomas and the democrat Smith. Another Liberal journal, very well known in the U.S.A., the "New Republic," recognises Smith as a reformist and advises its readers to vote for him.

Finally, from the letters of socialist electors in the "New Leader," the organ of the Socialist Party, Smith's reformist features are visible. One such elector explains why he cannot vote for Smith, and writes: "If Smith desired to be a true reformist he would have to adopt all the socialist attire, and not separate items as he is doing at the moment, selecting first stockings and then his shirt from the socialist clothing."

The growth of reformism was reflected by Smith and the Democratic Party. A strange combination: the slave-owners' party in the role of reformers! Such then the democrats have been transformed into a pure capitalist party, in which capacity they have figured in elections for the last two decades. And the democrats' special position as the opposition of the present Government was deliberately exploited with the aim of transforming Smith into the patron of reformism.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATS

Formerly there was essentially no difference whatever between the republicans and the democrats. "After the liberation of the negroes the difference between these two parties became less and less. The struggle between the two parties was predominantly carried on over the issue of a larger or smaller degree of customs duties. The struggle had no serious importance whatever to the masses of the people. They fooled the people, and drew them away from their real interests by means of effective and meaningless duels between two bourgeois parties." (Lenin). Now new features have been introduced into this duel by the Democratic Party. Of course it would be absurd to talk of any "regeneration" of the party, but the fact of importance to us is the arsenal from which this party selects its weapons at the present time. The fact is that the Democratic Party has for the first time endeavoured to use the reformist sword also in its duels. The choice was made quite deliberately. The Democratic Party wished to ensure itself all the dissatisfied elements among the workers, while striving to avoid the smash of the two-party system, which would have meant the destruction of discipline—bourgeois discipline—among the workers, which in turn would have facilitated the formation of a mass Communist Party. The Democratic Party did not use the reformist weapon in its entirety, although it was preparing to get it into action.

How were these travails of reformism expressed? What was the division of labour? The democrats and republicans no longer carry on mimic battles over the customs duties. The Democratic Party had to revise its attitude on the customs duties, since the former slave-owners, the landowners of the south—the basis of the Democratic Party—are becoming more and more fused with industry as the industrialisation of the south proceeds. The democrats have cast the disputes over customs duties out of their programme, since this demand is no longer a real one for the landowners of the new type. Moreover the agreement with the republicans on this point brings the democrats closer to part of the imperialist-minded workers of the south, who are interested in high protective tariffs for industry. Compromising on this point, the

democrats have now ceased to be a "specifically southern party." They have even begun to lose the south. The democratic instrument was not to the mind of the democrats of the Southern States of the U.S.A. As a result the republicans gained great victories in the south for the first time, for it had always been the fortress of the democrats.

The Democratic Party has changed its geography. Its reformist phraseology has assisted it to consolidate its position in the industrial centres of America. The democrats obtained a majority in New York, Chicago, Boston and so on, although they did not obtain majorities among the provincial population of these States. Moreover, the scenes of the recent strike struggle, such as New Bedford, gave their votes to the democrats, although previously they had voted for the republicans. The very fact that the Democratic Party has lost votes in the conservative south and collected majorities in such industrial centres as New York, Chicago, Boston and so on is eloquent of much.

The labour question occupies a prominent position in the programmes of both parties, and not so much in programmes as in the speeches and activities of the candidates.

Both Hoover and Smith call for "class peace." Both of them criticise the point of view which regards workers as "commodities." Both of them stand for "the improvement of the position of the workers."

SMITH AND HOOVER

But there are different shades in their approach to the workers. Hoover addresses himself to the workers with a picture of a flourishing United States and prosperous; he says nothing about the seamy side. Smith talks exclusively of the seamy sides of "prosperity." Smith even makes "prosperity" itself suspect. He is dissatisfied with the increase in unemployment, which he reckons to embrace four million persons. Hoover counts mainly on those who so far have not lost anything through American "well-being," who do not think of the future as a dark one. In his appeals Hoover is in favour of the continuation of the present policy in all respects. Hoover is against any changes whatever either in laws or in politics. Hoover stands for the present development

of American capitalism. Smith's position is rather different. His game is to collect the votes of those who are doubtful about capitalism. He addresses himself to those who think it is necessary to undertake supplementary measures for the maintenance of class peace.

Smith is more determined in his criticism of the "injunction" policy (the right of the courts to interfere in strikes). He is in favour of free trade between capital and labour. But Smith proposes to extend labour legislation. On the eve of his adoption as candidate Smith gets a number of important laws on labour accepted by the New York State, in particular laws concerning women, children and the aged, i.e., those sections of the community who suffer the most from the seamy side of "prosperity." In the same State Smith endeavoured to introduce a new housing policy. Occasionally Smith has been called a "red" and even a "Communist" because of his "reformist" activities. Smith lays open to doubt a number of the props on which the present-day order depends, the policy in regard to high-powered electric stations, transport, trusts, and so on, for instance. Finally, Smith is a "wet." This does not mean that Smith stands simply for the sale of drink—it is as easy to obtain in the U.S.A. as in any other country. In the eyes of the American citizens being a "wet" is at the present time the same as being a reformer. The "dry" laws have so corrupted and perverted the administration that the Liberals see one of the best means of cleaning up the administration and saving the prestige of the State authority in the eyes of the population in the demand for the repeal of the "dry" laws. And, finally, Smith has adopted the Wilson programme of foreign policy. Not in the form in which Wilson applied it, but as he preached it. Smith is for an active international policy, but a pacifist one. Smith is for a cessation of the war in Nicaragua and against the present policy in Latin America, and so on.

IMMIGRATION

Smith stands for the repeal of the immigration laws, but for the maintenance of the

restrictions on the entry of immigrants. Smith proposes to change the rate of immigration of each country, which at the present time is based on the immigration flood of 1890, when the majority of immigrants were English, German, and Irish. Smith goes halfway to meet the lowest paid workers, emigrants from the eastern countries of Europe, and wants to increase the rate for these countries at the cost of a reduction in the rate of other countries.

Smith's candidature was prepared and is still being prepared against the possibility of a crisis and depression, while Hoover's is for a good time. Smith did not get a majority but he might have got it. No one knows what would have happened in the elections if they had taken place in the winter-time, and so had coincided with the seasonal depression, —and the coming winter promises to extend that depression and carry it beyond the seasonal limits. Then Smith's chances would increase, just as the reformist content in his phraseology would increase.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS

In either case the bourgeoisie would win, since the two-party system ensures the impossibility of losing, given a sound distribution of labour. For us the fact of such a distribution of labour is not highly important. It is very characteristic of the present-day elections that Smith's propaganda has had success in the industrial centres. This success in the large towns witnesses to the growth of a critical attitude to "prosperity" among the American workers. The glitter of "prosperity" no longer blinds a large part of the workers to its shadows. "There are spots on the sun"—that fact can now be observed without any specially prepared glass. That is the significance of the present elections, which have shown the movements among the workers. They are of a reformist, or rather of a semi-reformist nature. In those movements are hidden the conditions of the growth of the Communist Party and of its influence. They indicate that the fear of Communism is continually increasing in the very fortress of imperialism—the United States of North America.

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